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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
INDIAN BOARD
IN THE
CITY OF NEW YORK:
WITH
COLONEL M'KENNEY'S
ADDRESS.



DOCUMENTS
AND
PROCEEDINGS

RELATING TO THE
FORMATION AND PROGRESS OF A BOARD

IN THE

City of New York,
published the Indian Board on July 22

FOR THE

EMIGRATION, PRESERVATION, AND IMPROVEMENT,

OF THE

ABORIGINES OF AMERICA.

JULY 22, 1829.

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of the aborigines of America.

DOCUMENTS, &c.

Letter from Colonel M^cKenney to the Rev. Eli Baldwin.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, }
Office of Indian Affairs. }

May 21st, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

I have communicated with the Secretary of War, on the proposed organization of an association in New York, having for its exclusive object, the colonization and preservation of our Indians; and requested permission to transmit, for the information of those who may feel an interest in this great work, a copy of his letter to a Delegation of Cherokees recently at Washington, in which is an exposition of the views of the Executive on the rights of the Indians, to the exercise of *sovereignty* within the States; and which also discloses the views and feelings of the Executive in regard to these hapless people, generally. With no other restriction than that, he does not wish his letter published. The Secretary authorizes me, in compliance with my request, to send to you a copy. You will receive it herewith.

I accompany this letter also, with some views of my own, addressed to Mr. Evarts, at Boston, growing out of this Executive measure, and which will demonstrate, I trust, the importance of the views recently proposed to you, looking to the organization, in New York, of an association, whose entire energies should be applied towards changing the location of the Indian tribes, now within our States; and also their relations to political, civil, and religious rights. If I have shown that without this change, the Indians must perish, I shall have done enough to rouse into action all that is merciful in the

hearts of the good people of New York, and elsewhere, to come in, and co-operate with the government, in inducing the Indians to acquiesce in the only plan which is left for their preservation and happiness. With this letter you may do what you please. If you think the exposition such, as that its publication would promote the great object, then let it be published. I submit this to your discretion.

I have no doubt but such an association, (looking wholly to the preservation of the Indians, and to their colonization, as the only way of accomplishing it,) would receive all the government assistance, that it might be in the power of the Executive to afford.

I now leave the subject with you, with a request that if convenient, you submit to Bishop Hobart, and General Van Rensselaer, this letter, and the papers accompanying it.

With great respect and regard,

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

INDIAN TALK.

*From the President of the United States, to the Creek Indians,
through Colonel Crowell.*

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS,

By permission of the Great Spirit above, and the voice of the people, I have been made a President of the United States, and now speak to you as your father and friend, and request you to listen. Your warriors have known me long. You know I love my white and red children, and always speak straight, and not with a forked tongue; that I have always told you the truth. I now speak to you, as to my children, in the language of truth—listen.

Your bad men have made my heart sicken, and bled by the murder of one of my white children in Georgia. Our peaceful mother

earth has been stained by the blood of the white man, and calls for the punishment of his murderers, whose surrender is now demanded under the solemn obligation of the treaty which your chiefs and warriors in council have agreed to. To prevent the spilling of more blood, you must surrender the murderers, and restore the property they have taken. To preserve peace, you must comply with your own treaty.

Friends and Brothers, listen :—Where you now are, you and my white children are too near to each other to live in harmony and peace. Your game is destroyed, and many of your people will not work and till the earth. Beyond the great river Mississippi, where a part of your nation has gone, your father has provided a country large enough for all of you, and he advises you to remove to it. There your white brothers will not trouble you ; they will have no claim to the land, and you can live upon it, you and all your children, as long as the grass grows or the water runs, in peace and plenty. It will be yours for ever. For the improvements in the country where you now live, and for all the stock which you cannot take with you, your father will pay you a fair price.

In my talk to you in the Creek nation, many years ago, I told you of this new country, where you might be preserved as a great nation, and where your white brothers would not disturb you. In that country your father, the President, now promises to protect you, to feed you, and to shield you from all encroachment. Where you now live your white brothers have always claimed the land. The land beyond the Mississippi belongs to the President, and to none else ; and he will give it to you for ever.

My Children, listen :—The late murder of one of my children in Georgia shows you that you and they are too near to each other. These bad men must now be delivered up, and suffer the penalties of the law for the blood they have shed.

I have sent my Agent ———, and your friend Colonel Crowell, to demand the surrender of the murderers, and to consult with you upon the subject of your removing to the land I have provided for you west of the Mississippi, in order that my white and red children may live in peace, and that the land may not be stained with the blood of my children again. I have instructed Colonel Crowell to speak the truth to you, and to assure you that your father, the Presi-

dent, will deal fairly and justly with you, and whilst he feels a father's love for you, he advises your whole nation to go to the place where he can protect and foster you. Should any incline to remain and come under the laws of Alabama, land will be laid off for them, and their families in fee.

My Children, listen :—My white children in Alabama, have extended their law over your country. If you remain in it, you must be subject to that law. If you remove across the Mississippi, you will be subject to your own laws, and the care of your father, the President. You will be treated with kindness, and the lands will be yours for ever.

Friends and Brothers, listen :—This is a straight and good talk. It is for your nation's good, and your father requests you to hear his counsel.

(Signed)

ANDREW JACKSON.

March 23, 1829.

From the Secretary of War to a Delegation of Cherokees.

[Copy.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

18th April, 1829.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS,

Your letter of the 17th February, addressed to the late Secretary of War, has been brought to the notice of this Department, since the communication made to you on the 11th instant; and having conversed freely and fully with the President of the United States, I am directed by him to submit the following as the views which are entertained, in reference to the subjects which you have submitted for consideration

You state that "the Legislature of Georgia, in defiance of the laws of the United States, and the most solemn treaties existing," have extended jurisdiction over your nation. to take effect in June, 1830. That your nation had no voice in the formation of the confederacy of the Union, and has ever been unshackled with the laws of individual

States, because independent of them ;” and that consequently this act of Georgia is to be viewed, “in no other light, than a wanton usurpation of power, guaranteed to no state, neither by the common law of the land, nor by the laws of nature.”

To all this, there is a plain and obvious answer, deducible from the known history of the country. During the war of the revolution, your nation was the friend and ally of Great Britain ; a power which then claimed entire sovereignty, within the limits of what constituted the thirteen United States. By the declaration of independence, and subsequently the treaty of 1783, all the rights of *sovereignty* pertaining to Great Britain, became vested respectively in the original States of this Union, including North Carolina and Georgia, within whose territorial limits, as defined and known, your nation was then situated. If, as is the case, you have been permitted to abide on your lands from that period to the present, enjoying the right of soil, and privilege to hunt, it is not thence to be inferred, that this was any thing more than a permission growing out of compacts with your nation ; nor is it a circumstance whence, now to deny to those states, the exercise of their original sovereignty.

In the year 1785, three years after the independence of the States which compose this Union had been acknowledged by Great Britain, a treaty at Hopewell was concluded with your nation by the United States. The emphatic language it contains cannot be mistaken ; commencing as follows :—

“ The Commissioners Plenipotentiaries of the United States, in Congress assembled, give peace to all the Cherokees, and receive them into favour and protection of the United States of America.” It proceeds then to allot, and to define your limits and your hunting grounds. You were secured in the privilege of pursuing the game ; and from encroachments by the whites. No right, however, save a mere possessory one, is, by the provisions of the treaty of Hopewell, conceded to your nation. The soil, and the use of it, were suffered to remain with you, while the *sovereignty* abided precisely where it did before, in those States within whose limits you were situated.

Subsequent to this, your people were at enmity with the United States, and waged a war upon our frontier settlements. A durable peace was not entered into with you, until 1791. At that period a

good understanding obtained, hostilities ceased, and by the treaty made and concluded, your nation was placed under the protection of our government, and a guarantee given, favourable to the occupancy and possession of your country. But the United States, always mindful of the authority of the States, even when treating for what was so much desired, peace with their red brothers, forbore to offer a guarantee *adverse to the sovereignty of Georgia*. They could not do so ; they had not the power.

At a more recent period, to wit, in 1802, the State of Georgia, defining her own proper limits, ceded to the United States, all her western territory, upon a condition which was accepted, " that the United States shall, at their own expense, extinguish for the use of Georgia as early as the same can be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms, the Indian title to all the lands within the State of Georgia." She did not ask the military arm of the government to be employed, but in her mildness and forbearance, only that the soil might be yielded to her, so soon as it could peaceably be obtained, and on reasonable terms. In relation to *sovereignty* nothing is said, or hinted at in the compact ; nor was it necessary or even proper, as both the parties to the agreement well knew that it was a right which already existed in the State, in virtue of the declaration of our independence, and of the treaty of 1783, afterward concluded.

These things have been made known to you frankly, and after the most friendly manner ; and particularly at the making of the treaty with your nation in 1817, when a portion of your people stipulated to remove to the west of the Mississippi ; and yet it is alleged in your communication to this department, that you have " been unshackled with the laws of individual States, because independent of them."

The course you have pursued of establishing an independent, substantive government, within the territorial limits of the State of Georgia, adverse to her will, and contrary to her consent, has been the immediate cause, which has induced her to depart from the forbearance she has so long practised ; and in virtue of her authority, as a sovereign, independent State, to extend over your country, her legislative enactments, which she, and every state embraced in the confederacy, from 1783 to the present time, when their independence was acknowledged and admitted, possessed the power to do,

apart from any authority, or opposing interference by the General Government.

But suppose, and it is suggested, merely for the purpose of awakening your better judgment, that Georgia cannot, and ought not, to claim the exercise of such power; what alternative is then presented?

In reply, allow me to call your attention for a moment, to the grave character of the course which, under a mistaken view of your own rights, you desire this government to adopt. It is no less than an invitation, that she shall step forward to arrest the constitutional acts of an independent State, exercised within her own limits. Should this be done, and Georgia persist in the maintenance of her rights, and her authority, the consequences might be, that the act would prove injurious to us, and, in all probability, ruinous to you. The sword might be looked to as the arbiter in such an interference. But this can never be done.—The President cannot, and will not, beguile you with such an expectation. The arms of this country can never be employed to stay any State of this Union, from the exercise of those legitimate powers which attach, and belong to their sovereign character. An interference to the extent of affording you protection, and the occupancy of your soil, is what is demanded of the justice of this country, and will not be withheld; yet, in doing this, the right of permitting to you the enjoyment of a separate government, within the limits of a State; and of denying the exercise of sovereignty to that State, within her own limits, cannot be admitted. It is not within the range of powers granted by the States to the General Government, and, therefore, not within its competency to be exercised.

In this view of the circumstances connected with your application, it becomes proper to remark that no remedy can be perceived, except that which frequently heretofore has been submitted for your consideration, a removal beyond the Mississippi, where, alone, can be assured to you protection and peace. It must be obvious to you, and the President has instructed me again to bring it to your candid and serious consideration, that to continue where you are, within the territorial limits of an independent State, can promise you nothing but interruption and disquietude. Beyond the Mississippi your prospects will be different. There you will find no conflicting interests. The

United States' power and sovereignty, uncontrolled by the high authority of State jurisdiction, and resting on its own energies, will be able to say to you, in the language of *your own nation, the soil shall be yours while the trees grow, or the streams run*. But situated where you now are, he cannot hold to you such language, or consent to beguile you, by inspiring in your bosoms hopes and expectations which cannot be realized,—justice and friendly feelings cherished towards our red brothers of the forest, demand, that in all our intercourse, frankness should be maintained.

The President desires me to say, that the feelings entertained by him towards your people, are of the most friendly kind ; and that in the intercourse heretofore, in past times, so frequently had with the chiefs of your nation, he failed not to warn them of the consequences which would result to them from residing within the limits of sovereign States. He holds to them now no other language, than that which he has heretofore employed ; and in doing so, feels convinced that he is pointing out that course which humanity and a just regard for the interest of the Indian will be found to sanction. In the view entertained by him of this important matter, there is but a single alternative—to yield to the operation of those laws which Georgia claims, and has a right to extend throughout her own limits, or to remove, and by associating with your brothers beyond the Mississippi, to become again united as one nation, carrying along with you that protection, which, there situated, it will be in the power of the government to extend. The Indians being thus brought together at a distance from their white brothers, will be relieved from very many of those interruptions which, situated as they are at present, are without a remedy. The Government of the United States will then be able to exercise over them a paternal, and superintending care to happier advantage ; to stay encroachments, and preserve them in peace and amity with each other ; while with the aid of schools, a hope may be indulged, that ere long, industry and refinement will take the place of those wandering habits now so peculiar to the Indian character, the tendency of which is to impede them in their march to civilization.

Respecting the intrusions on your lands, submitted also for consideration, it is sufficient to remark, that of these the Department had

already been advised, and instructions have been forwarded to the Agent of the Cherokees, directing him to cause their removal; and it is earnestly hoped, that on this matter, all cause for future complaint will cease, and the order prove effectual:

With great respect,
Your friend,

(Signed)

JOHN H. EATON.

To Messrs. JOHN ROSS,
RICHARD TAYLOR,
EDWARD GUNTER, AND
WILLIAM S. COODY,
Cherokee Delegation.

Col. McKenney's Letter to J. Evarts, Esq.

[Copy.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, }
Office of Indian Affairs. }

May 1st, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

Whatever relates to our Indians, will, I know, be interesting to you. Indeed, the subject is one which takes hold, not only of your feelings, and the feelings of your Board, but of other associations similarly organized, and also of the feelings of the good citizens of our republic, generally: All unite in the wish to see those people rescued, and elevated into a participation of the blessings of the civilized and christian state. The question is, how can this be best accomplished? Now, we know, men often agree in regard to various matters as to the *end*, but often differ as to the means for its accomplishment. This is precisely the case with this Indian subject. All desire to save the remnants of this once mighty race, but the means have not, I humbly conceive, been as yet, exactly hit upon—at least they have not been carried out fully. If I am not mistaken, I will be

able in the course of this letter to lay bare to you the cause, to a great extent, of the present degraded state of these people. To make manifest the evil, will make manifest also, the remedy. I do not mean to be general in my remarks, but apply them chiefly to one great point—and that relates to their landed possessions within our States and organized Territories; and the necessary, but fatal connexion of the Indians arising out of that relation.

For myself, I have always viewed the subject of our Indian landed possessions, and the relation which these bear to our States and Territories, as full of interest and pregnant with difficulty. All that I have felt of hope for the preservation and improvement of our Indians, has been clouded with fear that the time would arrive, when, between them and the States, and the General Government, the issue would have at last to be tried. It cannot have escaped the observation of those who have paid attention to this subject, that the right of the Indians to the lands held by them, is but a *possessory* right; and that whatever guarantees may exist, as they do in our treaties, these cover no more than a right of this sort. *It could not have been otherwise.* To interpret these guarantees by any other rule, would be to decide that sovereignty should be set up against sovereignty; the sovereignty of the Indians, against the sovereignty of the States. It never was so meant. Whenever, then, with a view to the cultivation of their local resources; or for an extension of power, the States should feel their Indian population to be burdensome, it was most clear that this feeling would, in some way, manifest itself. At first it was natural to suppose it would be disclosed in acts of the legislatures, extending over the Indians, as one attribute of sovereignty, their respective laws. This, in two of the States, Georgia and Alabama, has been actually done. The laws of the latter are now in full operation; those of the former are prospectively enacted, and are to take effect in 1830. In this state of things, it was natural to suppose the Indians would look, *under their mistaken conception of the nature of the guarantee* spoken of in treaties with them, for protection, from the operation of those laws, to the Federal Government; nor was it less natural that they should be, whensoever the question should be raised, undeceived in regard to this matter—since it could never have been contemplated that the General Government would bare its arm, and go forth with an array of power to contend against the exercise of any one

attribute of sovereignty of any one of the States. The States having made no grant, expressed or implied, to the Federal Union of the kind, it was not to be expected that the General Government would *assume* the power.

I have never before, I believe, attempted to place this subject before you in this light, but looking more to the *issue* of the question, I have from time to time urged upon you, and the friends of Indian improvement, generally, the importance of so enlightening the Indians as to show them clearly the very delicate, nay hazardous, relation in which they stand to the States within whose bosom they are. I never doubted, nor do I now doubt, that if they were made to see the peril of this relation, they would seek to establish a better one upon a different basis than that which secures their lands to them as *possessory tenants, only*; and this would lead them west of our States and Territories, where *every sort of guarantee*, could, and I doubt not, *would* be given to them; and every protection and blessing within the power of the General Government to confer, extended to their race. Upon such a basis, only, can they expect to be preserved, and improve themselves, or be improved by others. Need I stop to demonstrate how utterly impracticable it is to remodel the Indian character, and fashion it after the civilized form, situated as are those tribes who are within our States? Where is the example of a single transformation in a tribe of this sort? I know of not one. But I know of many in which even amidst efforts the most untiring, the Indians have (although individuals have profited) disappeared, until now, many of our States that once swarmed with an Indian population, contain not a vestige of one! Whence comes this decay, and final disappearing of the red before the white man? It comes not of the colour, nor of physical or moral malformation; nor of destiny—but from causes the most natural, which a change in our relations to each other would work, even upon us. The elements may all be found to lie in the *intellectual, moral, political, and social* relations which exist between them and us. It would require a volume to descant upon these. I will merely touch each, and pass on.

Who does not see the effect of intellectual superiority, even among our own citizens? And where we see one absolutely superior, and another absolutely inferior, does not the consciousness of that infe-

riority in the person feeling it depress his energies, and paralyze his efforts? Do we not see this daily? Now why should a different result of the same cause be looked for in the Indian? But the relations between the white man and the Indian stop not here. The latter finds himself *always* the victim of that intellectual superiority, and feels that he *must* always remain so. Bereaved in the past by superior tact, he feels that he is no less so in the present; and what he sees of the future, is even more hopeless still. The existence of this relation alone, did it stop here, would, in time, work his overthrow—but there are others. The moral energies which will sustain, to a degree, even conscious inferiority, are not felt by the Indian. To these he is almost a stranger. And where does he derive any thing but depression and despair, when he sees the political distinctions enjoyed by the white man, by his side; the high honours to which he is elevated; the privileges which these confer, and the freedom they entail? Is there any thing in this view calculated to inspire him with the spirit of emulation? To rouse him to action, and to the performance of deeds of virtue, or of renown? Far from it. If he be human, and that he is, none will deny, what must he feel when even his *oath* is not deemed worthy to be taken? Can a human heart beat free when oppressed by such degradation? Must it not sink into despair? And what then? We all know. But the Indian has to endure one more thought. It is the total impracticability of his ever participating in those refinements of the social state, which are the necessary result of the white man's superiority over him in intellectual, moral, and political advantages. If there had been any light left to shine, although but dimly, on his prospects, this would obscure it and shroud his prospect in the deepest gloom. Well then, this is the relation in which the red man stands to his more cultivated white brother.

This, however, is but one side of the question. There is another: The action of the white man *upon him*. The first is the worm within, eating out his vitals; the last the storm that prostrates the shell which the worm may not have devoured. This comes of the same elements. The Indian is seen to be degraded; and unfortunately for man it is too true, there is the disposition in his nature to exercise upon such cruelty, injustice, and revenge. Will any one suppose it

possible that thus situated the Indians can exist? Much less rise into that high state, as to take station along side of our citizens? If they could, then would they demonstrate themselves to be *more than human*.

I assume it then, that the Indians cannot be saved and elevated in their condition, without a change in existing relations. But to return.

I did certainly look to the period when the issue between the States and their Indian population would be tried. I have for some time past seen the elements forming, out of which the question would arise. I supposed it highly probable the next Congress would be applied to; and that it would have been then decided. The Cherokees, I supposed, would bring it up. They have presented it. It has been accelerated by the very efforts of some of their best informed, to improve their own condition and that of their people in the constitution and laws they have framed and adopted. *Sovereignty* was here sought after, and the States, it was to be expected, would meet the attempt at its exercise. Hence the State of Georgia extends her laws over them; as an intimation of where the sovereign power does lie. "If," as Georgia no doubt reasoned, "these people are competent to self-government, they can receive and act under our own laws." The Indians, alarmed at this act of Georgia, have appealed to the President of the United States, to interfere and save them from the consequence of the operation of those laws. The appeal has been promptly met, and the matter decided. The Secretary of War, in the name of the President, tells them what they wish cannot be done—the Government of the United States will not resist Georgia in this exercise of her sovereignty. *The die, therefore, is cast!*

The grounds on which the question is met by the Secretary, are the following:—

1st. These people, the Cherokees, were arrayed against us, and in league with Great Britain, in the war of the Revolution.

2d. With the fall of the British power, fell their power; and with the extinguishment of the British rights, was extinguished their rights.

3d. By the treaty of peace with Great Britain, sovereignty was acknowledged to be in the United States, over all the territory over which the British crown had previously exercised it; no reservation

is made in favour of those Indians, vesting in them any attribute of sovereignty ;—but,

4th The United States gave peace, three years after the pacification with Great Britain, to the Cherokees, and *took them under the protection of the Union, and into favour*. Limits were allotted to them, within which, (as *possessory occupants*,) they were permitted to live and hunt, and a guarantee given

5th. Subsequently to the pacification, and between 1785 and 1791, those same Indians waged war upon our border population. This was a treaty of peace and of limits ; and in this treaty the Cherokees were again taken under the protection of the Government of the Union, and their limits guaranteed to them, as possessory occupants, however, *and of course*, for the reasons which I have hastily glanced at.

6th. Those limits, embracing in part certain portions of the jurisdictional limits of Georgia, it became necessary for an understanding to be had between the United States and Georgia. on the subject, which resulted in a compact, (in 1802,) in which the United States pledged to possess Georgia of her territory, as soon as it could be done upon peaceable and reasonable terms. Thus it appears that so far back as 1802, it was fixed (as the compact fully implies,) that not the Indians, but Georgia held the right of sovereignty ; and the Indians retained the soil, only as *possessory occupants*.

Under those several heads the Secretary of War has, with great force, and clearness, and in a spirit of frankness, surpassed only by its kindness, demonstrated the true state of the question. He tells the Cherokees that whilst the General Government can never oppose Georgia in the exercise of her right of sovereignty, it will protect them in the full enjoyment of all their possessory rights.

He then presents to them two alternatives,—one is to come under the laws of the State, the other to emigrate ; and advises them to adopt the latter. He then adverts to the power of the General Government, to establish them upon a different basis, on lands west of our States and Territories, west of the Mississippi ; and expresses a readiness on the part of the General Government to protect them there, and invest them with *such rights and privileges as will preserve and elevate them as a people*.

Now this is precisely the end at which every friend to the Indians should aim. It is worse than useless to take other ground. It is unkind, nay, unmerciful to the Indians to do it. That they cannot exist in their present relations to us, I think has been shown ; to flatter them with the belief to the contrary, would be fatal. The past proves it—and the present teems with admonition. Nothing could be more kind to these people than the frank and firm answer which has been given to them. It requires, however, to make it effectual, that the bodies of citizens who have associated to meliorate and reform the condition of these people, as also all who really wish well to them, should heartily co-operate in convincing them of the destroying effects of their existing relations, and of their necessary and final, and fatal issue, and of the vast benefits which would flow to them from a change.

I glanced rapidly, in a previous part of this letter, at the elements of those causes which are working the destruction of those Indians who reside within our States and organized Territories. You may perhaps expect me to say something upon the subject of those preserving influences, which would operate to save them, were they to withdraw from within their present limits ; and also of a plan of operations for their advancement, and reformation, and prosperity as a people.

Three of the four southern tribes who are more immediately concerned in this question, to wit : the Choctaws, Cherokees and Creeks, have now, west and north of Arkansa, and west of Missouri, a country which on recent examination, is represented to be in soil, climate and salubrity, unexceptionable. The Chickasaws, and the Choctaws being neighbours in their present possessions ; and the Chickasaws numbering only about four thousand souls, would, there is no doubt of it, be received gladly by their Choctaw brothers ; and the Government would doubtless compensate the latter for this accommodation. The Creeks have already expressed their willingness to receive the Seminoles of Florida. Here then is a home for all those southern Indians, unexceptionable in all respects, and even desirable.

In the occupancy of this country, those Indians would be at once relieved from the direct action of those elements, which as I have shown, beat so destructively upon them in the States. This negative

result would prepare them at once for an action of another sort, and what this ought to be, I will now briefly state.

They should hold those possessions in the west by a tenure as durable as time ; and the guarantee of the Union ought so to secure them in such right. Their lands should be divided and parcelled out among all the families. The frame work, at least of a government, ought to be immediately placed over them, for their protection and improvement. In the administration of this government they should participate. Their relation to the Union should be that of one of our Territories ; and the entire scheme should look to their elevation to the enjoyment of all the privileges of American citizens, civil, political and religious. They should be assisted in their agriculture, and encouraged to cultivate the ground. Schools should be distributed over all their country. The children should be taken into these, and instructed, in addition to the usual branches, reading, writing and arithmetic, in mechanics, and the arts ; and the girls in all the business of the domestic duties. They should have the Gospel ; and be enlightened as they could bear its rays at this great source of light and blessedness. In a word, the work of their preservation and improvement, and happiness, ought to be undertaken in earnest, persevered in with diligence, and followed out in all those departments which govern *us* in our rights, and privileges, and advancements.

For their property here they should be justly paid ;—but in money to those only who would husband it to improve their western homes. Others less enlightened, and less provident, should have it applied for them in building their houses, fencing their fields, buying them cattle, hogs, poultry. &c. &c. ; implements of husbandry, and articles for domestic use.

Now can any one doubt, who knows the present unhappy and depressed condition of our Indians, that this removal, and this system, would not lift them in a single generation to a level with ourselves ? But suppose any should doubt the happy issue of such experiment ? To such, I would put the questions : Does not the present wretched condition of these people demand the adoption of *some* effort to save them ? And if something is not attempted, is it not plain that while we are reasoning in the forum, the enemy, having scaled the walls, is within the city, devastating and whelming it in ruins ? My own

opinion is, and I speak from a personal knowledge of the condition of most of our Indians, that the crisis has arrived in which they are to be *saved* or *lost*! The call of humanity is loud in their behalf. Justice also demands for them a last resting place for the soles of their feet; and the Union, in dread of the final and fatal issue, demands that the stain of permitting these people longer to suffer, and finally to *perish*, may be not found on its ermine, to be regretted and deplored by posterity.

But the questions may be asked, will all this be recognized by the Government? Will the Congress sanction such a provision? and will the Indians accept it? To the first I answer, *I have not a doubt of it*. To the second, it is my sincere belief that it will; and to the third, all that can be done by their friends, is to labour to induce them to do so. If they shall persist in refusing to accept terms like those, I have glanced at, and which, perhaps, may be made still more inviting, then the reproach of being idle, and letting the Aborigines of North America perish, will be wiped off; and posterity will recur with gratification to the honest efforts of their forefathers to arrest so great a calamity. All that can be required of any individual in a righteous cause is to exert his best efforts—If these fail, then he is blameless. So with nations; and although history may often overlook the honest efforts of individuals, in the cause of humanity and justice, her eye is wide open to national acts, and these she will be sure to record, and to convey to posterity. Our country is deeply concerned in the question of saving our Indians, or permitting their destruction. I believe it has the power to accomplish the one, and avert the other. Dreadful will be the responsibility if it shall not act!

If the answer of the Secretary of War to the Cherokees, which conveys to them the decision of the President, shall awaken these people to a sense of their real situation, and induce a wish in them to change it, much will have been done towards the accomplishment of the end which we all have in view: viz. the *preservation, improvement, and happiness* of our Indians.

I am, dear Sir,

With great respect and regard,

Your friend,

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY.

At a meeting of a number of Clergymen and Laymen of the Reformed Dutch Church, held at the Consistory Room, corner of Nassau and Ann streets. on the 10th day of July, 1829, for the purpose of considering whether some measures cannot be adopted and pursued, for the salvation of the Indians within the United States,

The following persons were present :—

Jacob R. Hardenbergh,	Jacob Brodhead, D. D.,
Richard Duryee,	Thomas De Witt, D. D.,
Cornelius Heyer,	Rev. Cornelius D. Westbrook,
Abraham Van Nest,	Rev. Eli Baldwin,
Stephen Hasbrouck, M. D.,	Rev. Isaac A. Van Hook:
William C. Brownlee, D. D.,	

The Rev. Dr. Brodhead was chosen Chairman, and the Rev. Eli Baldwin, Secretary.

The Meeting was opened with prayer by the Chairman, after which the following correspondence was read :—

1. A letter from Col. M'Kenney, of the Indian Department, Washington to the Rev Eli Baldwin.

2. A letter from the Secretary of War, to a Delegation of Cherokee Indians.

3. A letter from Col. M'Kenney to J. Evarts, Esq. Corresponding Secretary of A. B. C. F. M.

4. A letter from the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, to the Rev. Eli Baldwin.

5. One from Col. M'Kenney to the Rev. Eli Baldwin.

Whereupon, *Resolved*, That this Meeting do approve of a plan proposed by the Government of the United States, as intimated in the letter of the Secretary of War, to remove the Indians beyond the river Mississippi, as the best means for their preservation and improvement ; and that we will meet on the day of to hear the remarks of Col. M'Kenney, if his attendance can be procured ; and to adopt a constitution.

Resolved, That the Rev. Eli Baldwin, Col. M'Kenney, and the Rev. Dr. Brodhead, be a Committee to draft a Constitution, which shall be to direct the proceedings of a proposed association for the salvation of the Indian race.

Resolved, That the individuals of this meeting will be members of such association, if formed.

Resolved, That the above Committee be authorized to invite individuals to the next meeting, and that they designate the time and place.

The meeting was closed with prayer.

New York, July 22, 1829.

The Committee appointed at a meeting held on the 10th instant, to invite individuals, and designate a time and place having performed the duties assigned them, there met accordingly this day, a number of citizens of various denominations, from the Reformed Dutch, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Moravian Churches, at the Consistory Chamber, corner of Nassau and Ann streets, when the Rev. Dr. M'Leod was called to the chair, and the Rev. Eli Baldwin appointed Secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Chairman, who also stated, in a pertinent address, the objects of the same.

The Committee appointed on the 10th instant, submitted the following Constitution, which was read by paragraphs, adopted and signed.

PREAMBLE.

The situation of the scattered remains of the Aborigines of this country, involving on the one side, the wrongs, the calamities, and the probable extinction of an interesting race of men ; and on the other side, the great perplexity of the Government of the United States, arising from its unwillingness, as well as from its want of power to interfere with the sovereignty of the States' Governments, has for a long time employed the skill of the statesman, and the benevolence of the religious community.

Although what has been done, has neither accomplished the unanimous and enlarged views of our Government, nor realized the expectations of religious enterprise ; yet from the experience of the past, we have arrived at the conclusion, that the harmony of these United States, the preservation of the American Indians from total extinction, and consequently the cause of humanity, require some prompt and decisive measure calculated to carry into effect the only

alternative left, namely, the final and speedy removal of the scattered remains of the Indian tribes from within the jurisdictional limits of sovereign States, to such place or places, as will put them fully within the sovereign control of the Federal Government, so as to prevent the calamities of the past, and secure the perpetuity of their rights in the future. Therefore, in order to promote an object so imperative and desirable, an Association is hereby formed under the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

This Association shall be known by the style of "THE INDIAN BOARD, FOR THE EMIGRATION, PRESERVATION, AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE ABORIGINES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II.

The acting members of this Association, shall not exceed thirty in number ; not less than one half of whom shall be residents of the city of New York,—all of whom shall have signed the Constitution ; and seven shall constitute a quorum at any meeting regularly convened.

ARTICLE III.

The officers of this Association, shall be a President, five Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, (who shall be authorized to employ a clerk,) and a Treasurer, chosen by ballot out of the acting members of the Association.

ARTICLE IV.

This Board engages to afford to the emigrant Indians, all the necessary instruction in the arts of life, and in the duties of religion.

ARTICLE V.

This Board is pledged to co-operate with the Federal Government of the United States, in its operations on Indian affairs ; and at no time to contravene its laws.

ARTICLE VI.

This Association invite the citizens of the United States, without respect to sect or party, religious or political, to co-operate with them in this benevolent enterprise.

ARTICLE VII.

This Board shall fill up vacancies occurring from any cause, by ballot.

ARTICLE VIII.

This Board shall have power to elect Honorary Members by ballot; no choice however, shall be made at the same meeting in which they are proposed. Persons so elected, shall have the privileges of members, with the exception of a right to vote.

ARTICLE IX.

No alterations or amendments of this Constitution shall be made, unless concurred in by three-fourths of the acting members; and no proposed amendment shall be acted upon at the same meeting in which it may be submitted.

SIGNED,

Alexander McLeod,
Philip Milledoler,
Jacob Brodhead,
Isaac A. Van Hook,
W. C. Brownlee,
R. McCarree,
N. I. Marselus,
Thomas G. Talmage,
Cornelius D. Westbrook,
Peter P. Rouse,
Hugh Auchincloss,
Joseph V. Varick,
Joseph M. Smith,
Stephen Hasbrouck,
Richard Duryee,

Samuel Van Wyck,
T. L. Ogden,
George W. Strong,
John Clark,
Stephen Van Rensselaer,
Eli Baldwin,
S. H. Meeker,
Cornelius C. Cuyler,
Abraham Van Nest,
Cornelius Heyer,
Jacob R. Hardenbergh,
Thomas De Witt,
Abraham Bloodgood,
William H. Van Vleck.

New York, July 22, 1829.

The members of the association then proceeded to the choice of officers, by ballot, when the following were duly elected :—

HON. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, *President*.

REV. ALEXANDER M'LEOD, D. D.

" PHILIP MILLEDOLER, D. D.

" JACOB BRODHEAD, D. D.

" CORNELIUS D. WESTBROOK, D. D.

} *Vice Presidents.*

ABRAHAM VAN NEST, Esq.

REV. ELI BALDWIN, *Corresponding Secretary*.

JOHN CLARK, M. D., *Treasurer*.

Resolved, That this Board will meet on Wednesday the 5th day of August next, at half past 7 o'clock P. M., in the church of the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, in Chambers street, of which public notice shall be given, when the proceedings of this and the preceding meetings shall be read, and an address delivered.

Resolved, That Drs. J. M. Smith, and S. Hasbrouck, together with the Secretary, be a Committee of Arrangements for the above public meeting.

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer of his election to the office of President of this Board, by letter.

Resolved, That this meeting do now adjourn, and that the members of the Board meet and organize on Tuesday next, at 4 P. M. at this place.

Closed with prayer.

Consistory Chamber, New York, July 28, 1829.

INDIAN BOARD &c.

Present.—Rev. A. M'Leod, D. D., *Vice President*, Dr. John Clark, *Treasurer*, Rev. Dr. J. Brodhead, S. Van Wyck, Thomas G. Talmage, Richard Duryee, Dr. Joseph M. Smith, Joseph V. Varick, Dr. Stephen Hasbrouck, Abraham Van Nest, Hugh Auchincloss, Isaac A. Van Hook, Thomas L. Ogden, Cornelius Heyer, and the Secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Brodhead.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The Rev. Drs. M'Leod and Brodhead, with the Secretary, were appointed

a Committee to report a set of rules to regulate the proceedings of this Board, and directed to call a meeting when prepared.

Resolved, That the Secretary be authorized to procure printed notices, by which the Meetings of this Board shall be called ; and to purchase a book or books in which shall be recorded all the proceedings of the Board, and all the letters written by him in the discharge of his official duties.

Resolved, That the Secretary invite Col. M^cKenney to deliver an Address at the public meeting to be held in Dr. M^cLeod's church, in Chambers street, on the 5th proximo, at half past 7 P. M. ; and that when this board adjourns, it adjourns to meet at that time and place.

Resolved, That the Secretary prepare a memorial to Congress, to be presented at its next session, and that the same be previously submitted for the approbation of this Board.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate to the President of the United States, an account of the origin and proceedings of this Board, transmit a copy of the Constitution, and in the name of the Board, solicit the approbation and co-operation, of the Executive of the United States.

Adjourned.—Closed with prayer.

INDIAN BOARD, &c.

The adjourned meeting intended to have been held on the 5th of August, owing to the indisposition of Col. M^cKenney, was postponed, and held on the 12th instant, in the Rev. Dr. M^cLeod's church.

Abraham Van Nest Esq. took the chair.

A letter from the Secretary of War, the former proceedings of this Board, their Constitution, and the following letter were read.

Reply of General Van Rensselaer, to a letter covering a copy of the Constitution, addressed to the Corresponding Secretary.

[Copy.]

"Albany, August 4, 1829.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"On my return on Saturday from an official tour to Lake Erie, I received Dr. Westbrook's letter, and the Constitution of the Indian Board, &c. I congratulate you and the friends of the poor Aborigines of our country on the organization of the Board.

I anticipate the happiest results. I only regret that my distance from New York will render me less efficient than I wish. To co-operate with the government in the laudable undertaking will be my pride.

My recent return from a fatiguing journey, is my apology for not attending the meeting on Wednesday.

Very respectfully,

Your friend &c.,

S. VAN RENSSELAER."

After which, an Address was delivered by Colonel M'Kenney, in pursuance of the following Correspondence.

To Colonel M'Kenney.

(Copy.)

New York, July 29, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

At a Meeting of "The Indian Board for the Emigration, Preservation and Improvement of the Aborigines of America," held yesterday afternoon, the following resolution was passed, viz :

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary invite Colonel M'Kenney to deliver an Address at the public Meeting to be held in Dr. M'Leod's church, in Chambers street, on the 5th proximo, at half past 7 o'clock, P. M."

Permit me Sir, earnestly to entreat your compliance with the above. From a long acquaintance with Indian affairs, (as the head of that department,) you are doubtless conversant with many facts and circumstances calculated to interest the feelings and inform the minds of the public ; these would be peculiarly grateful on that occasion, and facilitate the future operations of this Board.

It is scarcely necessary to say that a favourable answer to the above, will give personal pleasure, to

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

ELI BALDWIN,

Corresponding Secretary.

*To the Rev. Eli Baldwin, Corresponding Secretary of the
Indian Board, &c.*

New York, July 30, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

I am just favoured with your letter of yesterday, informing me of a resolution of your Board, embracing an invitation to me to deliver an Address at the public Meeting to be held in Dr. M'Leod's church, in Chambers street, on the 5th proximo ; and conveying your own earnest entreaty that I would comply with the wishes of the Board.

In reply, I have to state, that having been sent on here by the Executive, in compliance with a request made by you in behalf of the Association then about to be formed, to aid you with such information as I might possess, in the furtherance of your benevolent intentions towards the Indians, I do not well see how I could, with propriety, decline to render any aid which you might consider important in its bearing on the great object you have in view ; and however convinced I may be that more efficient service might be rendered in this part of the plan of your operations, by others better qualified for the task than I feel myself to be,—still, I will be present at the meeting, and, as far as I may be able, act in compliance with the wishes of your Board.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Respectfully yours,

THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

✍ Owing to unavoidable circumstances, the above Meeting was deferred till Wednesday the 12th instant. when the following Address was delivered.

ADDRESS.



THERE are two problems, which, in the language of a distinguished citizen of Virginia, remain yet to be solved—both having, so far, puzzled the ingenuity of the politician, and baffled the wisdom of the sage. One of these relates to the black population in our bosom ; the other to the red population, on our back. The inquiry is, how shall we, upon principles of sound policy, work out solutions that shall provide a remedy for the evils of the one, and a plan for the civilization and preservation of the other. These are questions, it must be admitted, of grave import. They are full of interest, and demand the untiring exertions of the wise and good, to answer them practically, and satisfactorily.

Our business, on the present occasion, is with our red population—the remains of a once lofty, and independent, but now degraded race ; a people, who are, in all respects, entitled to our sympathies, and, not to ours only, but those, also, of the civilized world. Any appeal which can be made in behalf of the Aborigines of America, we consider as entitled to the privilege of passing, not the bounds of neighbourhood, only, but of the republic. Every heart, no matter on what spot of earth it pulsates, must feel, if it have become humanized, the deepest interest in any proposition that looks to their rescue from the savage, and elevation into the civilized and Christian state.

Perhaps there are some in this assembly, who question the extent to which the sympathies of our race are claimed for our Indians ? If so, we would refer such to Plymouth, and to Jamestown ; to Somerset, at the one place, and, to Pocahontas, at the other. It were not difficult to fancy these distinguished natives in the midst of this assembly, prepared to defend, by their own simple, but powerful eloquence,

the claims assumed for their race. Somerset would appear, doubtless, arrayed in the habiliments of his northern forests ; with moccasins and leggins, made of the skins of beasts he had slain ; and a robe over his shoulder of the same material. His porte, erect and manly. With one hand at his breast, he would grasp the partial and shaggy covering of his body, and, with the other, bared, and extended, he would thus speak—

When your pilgrim Fathers approached the shore of my domain, I eyed them well. They were strangers. I knew not who they were, or whence they had come ; but I saw they were men. The rock on which they landed, was my rock ; and it was washed by the waters of my river. I stood up, and saw they were afraid. My heart felt pity for them. I bade my warrior-bands retire, and unstring their bows, and put up their arrows in their quivers. They did as I bade them. I, alone, advanced towards the strangers. Their faces were *white* with fear ! They looked upon each other, and spoke not ; and then looked upon me, and *trembled* ! In this hand, I held an ear of corn ; with it, I advanced towards their leader, and extended it to him. He understood me. It was the offer of peace, and the token of my friendship. I welcomed them to my lands, and gave them protection. Who doubts my power, by a single glance of my eye, to have sent a thousand deaths to quiver in the breasts of these your fathers, and to have strewed the beach with their dead bodies ?

And what, we might fancy Pocahontas to say, would have been the fate of Captain Smith, the leader of those who came across the deep waters to the lands of Powhatan, my father, had not a gush of pity forced itself on my heart, and impelled me to throw myself between that leader of your fathers, and the club that was uplifted to dash out his brains ? And what the fate of those who attended him ? And where, we may fancy them both asking, would now be their descendants, who, numerous as the leaves of our forests, fill our valleys, and sail upon our rivers, and hunt in our mountains ?—And where, *we* ask, would have been the hundreds of thousands of the oppressed and distressed of the old world, who in later times, like the pilgrim Fathers, have sought, and like them found, an asylum in the new ? Who can doubt that those generous savages gave us this country ; or, that with other dispositions than those which animated them, we might not have possessed it for centuries to come, if ever ?

If this be so, and if this western world have in its soil, and climate ; in its institutions, civil, and political, and religious, any thing to endear it to the heart of man, then does the obligation exist, not in those only who possess this fair inheritance, but in those also, who enjoy it in prospect ; or draw lessons from our admirable institutions for the better regulation of their liberty ; or the maintenance of their own peace and security, to feel for, and succor those, who were once the proprietors of this domain—a domain on which is now acting the most engaging scenes in practical government ever presented to the observation of the world. The beautiful theory, long thought to be Utopion, of a government like ours, is no longer matter of speculation, but of practical operation. The predictions of its weakness and instability, have had their answers in the new and increasing glory which shines upon it ; and which has been struck out by collisions, the prospect of which made many a patriotic and stout heart tremble.

The more exalted our state, and the more perfect our happiness, the deeper should we feel the obligation not to suffer those to whose country we have succeeded, to perish before our eyes. We have often, when surveying the wretched condition of our Indians, felt the apprehension, that perhaps enough of anxiety was not felt by our Fathers for their condition ; and that they were permitted to descend to us in a state unfavourable to improvement :—but the more we have examined into this subject, the more thorough has become our conviction that the reputation of the Pilgrims for humanity and kind intentions, is unimpeachable. They meditated no exterminating designs ; they cherished no feelings of hostility, but the contrary, towards those untutored people. If we consult what remains of the records of those earlier, and we will add later, times, we shall find that so soon, and wheresoever it was practicable to begin the work of enlightening the natives, it was attempted. Let it not be assumed, that because those efforts failed, as they did, except partially, to accomplish the benevolent ends contemplated, that they were not cherished and acted upon. Never were labours more apostolic than were those which the Elliots, and Mayhews, and Brainards, and Kirklands, introduced into the wilderness of mind by which they were surrounded ; nor purer, or more disinterested purposes formed, in reference to any object, than were those that contemplated to confer upon the Abori-

gines, the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Roxbury, Nantucket, Elizabeth Isles, Martha's Vineyard, and numerous other places, attest the sincerity and zeal of those who laboured to reform these people. Comparative success, only, attended those labours; when, from the failure to accomplish any thing more than a partial change, arguments were drawn adverse in their conclusions to the Indian's capacity for improvement, and the question has been often asked.—Why, if the Indians are endowed with the faculties common to the whites, and are susceptible, like ourselves, to be improved by the lessons of civilization, have they remained uncivilized, as a people, to this day? Numerous, we answer, have been, always, the obstacles to such a change; but not one of these involves the dreary and disheartening conclusion that, by any law of his nature, the Indian is precluded from the benefits which civilization confers; or from a participation in all that is great and good amongst men. But what were those obstacles? We would enumerate as constituting some of them.—the almost boundless extent of the forests; and the easy means of subsistence furnished the Indian, in the game that abounded there; his passion for the chase, and for war; his conceptions of his own power and independence, and the consequent indisposition arising out of all these to submit to restraint; the preference he cherishes for the sports and the pastimes, and the traditions of his fathers; the habits which become grafted on these—the indolence consequent upon such a state of being, and the aversion arising out of it to intellectual exertion. To these may be superadded various influences acting upon the Indian from without, and in the infliction upon him, by avarice, of wrongs and outrages, which tended to destroy his confidence in the white man, and fill him with suspicion and jealousy.

Those are some of the obstacles which benevolence sought to overcome; but they are not all. Which of us has not listened with sensations of horror to the nursery stories that are told of the Indian and his cruelties? In our infant mind, he stood for the Moloch of our country. We have been made to hear his yell; and to our eyes have been presented his tall, gaunt form, with the skins of beasts dangling round his limbs, and his eyes like fire, eager to find some new victim on which to fasten himself, and glut his appetite for blood. We have been made to see the desperate onset; to hear the piercing war-cry, and the clash of arms, and the heavy, dead sound of the war-club, as

it fell on the head of the victim—and then, from the midst of a partial stillness, we have been startled by the shrieks of the dying mother; and hushed, that we might hear the last sigh of the expiring infant—and then we have had disclosed to us the scene of carnage; and the Indian striding amidst the bodies of the slain; or beheld him seated over some favourite victim, with his fingers dripping with blood, and his face disclosing a ferocious smile, as he enjoyed the sight of the quivering limbs, and the agonies of the dying!

And thus were we, on our part, alienated from the Indian; and it was natural we should be—for amidst descriptions of savage barbarity like these, it was not to be expected that our feelings should be kind toward the authors of them. There was no time left us then to tear ourselves away from the resentments which were kindled in our bosoms, to inquire into the great moving cause of all this bloody strife; or whether these butcheries disclosed the *native* propensity of the Indian, or were the outbreaks of savage revenge, in retaliation for wrongs which it has not been given to human nature patiently to endure. Had it been given to us to know what we now know, whilst our infant feelings would have bled over the recital of those Indian cruelties, inflicted often on the unprotected, and unsuspecting, and unresisting, and deplored the sacrifice of innocent life, we must have indulged also, a deep sympathy for the Indian.

We would take occasion here, in connexion with our reference to the Indian, and to his bloody acts, to vindicate him before this assembly, from any imputation that would go to establish *cruelty* as a *necessary* law of his nature; or any other feeling which we do not possess in common with him. We have had some opportunities of personally inspecting his character,—and amidst his own plains and mountains, where are yet left to him some traces of the original domain; and where the face of his beautiful country has not yet been despoiled of its forests. Wherever we found him not yet imbued with the vices of civilization—for these are swift to reach him, and always reach him first—we found a being hospitable, kind, generous, with the natural affections, warm and constant. In his hospitality he vied with the most refined;—not, it is true, in the extent, or variety, or nicety of his accommodations,—for these, alas! are always forbidding enough;—but in the promptness of the heart,

and the freeness with which he would place before us all his little store of supplies, and in the gratification he would discover when he saw his offerings accepted. We have witnessed some rare examples of those virtues in the solitude of the desert, and never without feeling an anxious desire for the speedy arrival of the period that should bring with it a change in the condition of these people.

We have noticed some of the difficulties with which those had to contend, who undertook, in the earlier periods of our history, to reform the habits, and elevate the condition of the natives,—many of these exist no longer. The forests, (we mean those within our states.) and their game, are gone. The Indian can no longer bury himself in the one, nor subsist on the other. He has become, now, a creature of necessity—he must labour, or starve. But not only are the forests and the game gone, but with these has disappeared also, that feeling of independence which once made the native as uncontrollable, as he was invincible. Long and nobly did he struggle to maintain this. From the days of Pontiac, and long anterior to these, although often cut to pieces in their wars, and reduced in numbers, did this proud spirit display itself, until Tecumthé fell. Pontiac ! What a noble specimen of man existed in the person, and displayed itself in the acts of this warrior-chief ! He could not brook the idea of surrendering his relations to the French ; and to which he and his bands had become reconciled, if not attached. So soon, therefore, as the French power fell, and that of the British succeeded, we find him mustering his legions, and with a spirit and enterprise that nothing could subdue ; and a skill equal to that displayed by our most finished tacticians, aiming a death blow at the newly established power. As long as history lasts, so long will the siege of Detroit be remembered, and Pontiac ranked amongst the most skilful and valiant in war. A like spirit, and under like circumstances, animated Tecumthé. His partialities were for the British, and his skill and power were arrayed against us. He sought, by a skilful combination of Indian bands, from the lakes to the Mississippi, not to fortify and defend himself only, but by a sudden and simultaneous stroke upon our borders, to regain the territory of his people, and reign absolute,—not as monarch of his forests only, but as lord, also, of his bands. His life paid the forfeit of the gallant enterprise ; and with it vanished all hope of all allied to him,

of ever again becoming lords of their domain. Thus fell another of the obstacles in the way of Indian improvement.

It was to this state of things our fathers looked. We have found, they doubtless said, this singular being to be unmanageable ;—but when this empire shall have become established, and the sceptre of freedom be swayed over its teeming population, then surely, will that which is now literally a wilderness to the Indian, be made to blossom as the rose ; and then will his solitary places become glad. No longer able to bury himself in his forests, or subsist on their game, or measure strength with the white man, he will yield to necessity, resort to the earth for his support, and practice gladly, those lessons which are at present lost upon him. Then will be displayed before his eyes, the neat, well cultivated farm, and the flocks covering the pastures. The earth will pour out her treasures in his very presence. He will imitate all he sees. The wigwam will be made to give place to the cottage, and thrift and comfort succeed to improvidence and want. Then will he and the white man be one in feeling,—one in principles,—one in friendship,—one in the enjoyment of the same happiness ; and they will be seen together in the long vista of the future, brothers in the arts and conveniences of cultivated life. Then too will rise into her high distinction, and shine out in all her loveliness, heaven's best gift to man. No longer will woman be the drudge of her wilderness companion, and doomed to toil in abject and degraded servitude ;—for the more man's faculties become improved, and the more he can analyze his relations to the things of earth, and the things of heaven, the more devotedly does he attach himself to woman, promote her comforts, and minister to her happiness.

This, doubtless, was the prospect so fondly cherished by our fathers. But, alas ! what has experience brought along with it in regard to all these matters ? How little of all that was hoped for, has been realized ! True, as was anticipated, many of those obstacles which existed in earlier times, and which opposed, so successfully, the labours of our fathers, have disappeared ; but these have been succeeded by circumstances arising out of the peculiar relations which it has been the fate of the Indian to have established between him and us, far more perishing in their effects upon him, than were those earlier difficulties with which our fathers had to contend. What these circumstances are, may be inferred from the sequel.

Shall we stop to indulge in useless lamentations over what has been done ; or to arraign "the ways of Providence to man ;" or question his merciful designs in peopling this land with a race such as ours ?—The first would be useless, and the last impious. This country, in the plans of the Eternal, was to be the empire of freedom, and of mind. Here, in the purposes of infinite wisdom, it was determined, that science, and the arts, and religion, should flourish, and man attain, untrammelled by despotism or bigotry, the highest state of perfection and happiness, of which his nature is susceptible. All this was to be, and it has been. Nor were any of the consequences, which have attended the accomplishment of these purposes, unforeseen by Infinite Wisdom, even 'o those which have been so perishing in their effects upon the Indians. But it was not given to man to penetrate the mysterious purposes of the Infinite ; we, therefore, resolve all this into those inscrutable dispensations, which, in the futurity, we may expect to see revealed in all their godlike forms.

" Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And scan his work in vain ;
God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain."

But for any part we may have taken, as willing instruments in producing ; or not taken, in preventing the miserable condition of the Indians, we must expect to be held accountable. Heaven, we doubt not, wills the happiness of man. Under this belief, it becomes our duty to look at the condition of the Indian, *as we see it*, and, it being one of great suffering, and degradation, seek for the best means for his relief.

Nothing, we think, can be more clear, than that there has been, and yet is, something radically, *fatally*, wrong, in the system of our relations with those people. We have seen that zealous efforts were made in times past, and with what effect, to reform them. And our own knowledge of those of later times, justifies the conclusion, that it has been a favourite design of our government, and a large portion of our citizens, to improve their destiny. That spirit animates the councils of this nation at this moment ; and is more extensively felt among our citizens than at any other period. The father of his country was

scarcely seated in the chair of state, before he fixed a kind and constant eye upon his red children. He counselled them zealously, and with a wisdom, equalled only by his benevolence. These counsels, sustained by large appropriations of money to make them, if possible, effective, have been continued to this day, by every succeeding president, and by almost every congress, varying only in some instances as to the course which, under all circumstances, it was considered best for the Indian to pursue. But the great object has been the same in all—to make better, and not worse, his condition. Those plans of improvement, however, could never have contemplated the carving out from the members of our confederacy, *against their will*, portions of their territory, on which to erect separate and independent Indian states. No such design could have been meditated; and apart from all abstract reasoning on the subject, the indications of late years may be referred to, as demonstrating that if it had been, it was not in accordance with either the genius of our institutions, or the prosperity of the Indians. And it may be assumed that whatever system shall not harmonize with the acknowledged principles of our union, *must be defective*; and to suppose that any weaker power could withstand their opposing actions, would be adverse, not only to our conceptions of the high bearing of our system upon the hopes and the destiny of man, but to our notions of the relations of power; and, as applicable to the present question, altogether unreasonable. As well might it be assumed as a right inherent in the Senecas, and the other fragments of tribes of this State, to erect themselves into one or more sovereignties, and under a constitution and laws of their own, exercise the corresponding attributes, and thus attempt the invasion of the sovereignty of this state, as for the same right to be argued in favour of any one, or all of the fragments of tribes, residing within the jurisdiction of the States in the south. The question is embarrassing: but the bearing of it, in any emergency in which the angry feelings may be excited, is wholly upon the Indians; hence, the constant anxiety which has manifested itself every where, but especially in our government, to devise some plan that should maintain the harmony of our beautiful system, and save those who, from the peculiarity of their relations, are every day liable to come into collision with it; and from the fatal consequences, to them, of such an event.

In a message of the President of the United States to Congress in 1825, may be seen the evidence of this anxiety.—“Being deeply impressed,” says the message, “with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several States and Territories, to the country lying westward and northward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries, is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished on conditions, and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of these tribes: the attention of the government has been *long drawn*, with *great solicitude* to the subject.” Again, “*experience* has clearly demonstrated, that in their present state, it is *impossible* to incorporate them in masses, in *any form whatever*, into our system. It has also demonstrated with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes, which it will be difficult, if not *impossible* to control, their *degradation* and *extermination* will be INEVITABLE!”

This is the language of humanity, dictated by wisdom and experience. It appeals to the understanding, and comes with the voice of warning to us all; but especially to those of us who profess to be friends of the Indian, and engaged to promote the welfare of his race. We are admonished to beware, and not permit a misguided philanthropy to give accelerated force to those causes which have been so long warring upon the happiness and lives of this people.

That men, and good men, should differ in their views of what ought to be done for the preservation and improvement of our Indians, is natural. We know there are men, and good men, who are opposed to the emigration of the Indians. We respect them, and their motives. They seek to save, and civilize these people. We profess to aim at the accomplishment of the same end, and differ only as to the mode. We once entertained similar views of this question with them—and thought it practicable to preserve and elevate the character of our Indians, even in their present anomalous relations to the States; but it was “distance that lent this enchantment to the view,”—we have since seen for ourselves, and that which before looked like flying clouds, we found, on a near inspection, to be impassable mountains. We believe if the Indians do not emigrate, and fly the causes, which are fixed in themselves, and which have proved so destructive in the

past, they *must perish*! We might distrust our own conclusions, though derived from personal investigation, did not experience confirm them. But alas! it is the admonition of experience, more than any thing else, that alarms, and urges us to employ all honourable means to persuade these hapless people to acquiesce in the policy which is proposed to them. Experience did we say? Yes, experience.

Has it ever occurred to this assembly to reflect upon the period when this island was a wilderness? when it was the home of the Indians; when nothing was heard but the growling of the wolves and bears, the barking of foxes, and the yells of the savage, and the moaning of the winds of heaven amidst the forest, save now and then, in a moment of stillness, the twang of the Indian's bow, as he sped the arrow into some animal whose fur he needed to make him warm, or whose flesh he sought to appease his hunger? Nothing then disturbed the waters of your lordly Hudson but the winds of heaven, save when a canoe would cross its smooth bosom, and then the sounds were confined to the splash of the Indian's paddle, and the little murmur at the bow of his frail vessel. At night, who can fancy the stillness that prevailed? Then was there nothing of life here, that we call life—It was all the silence of the desert. The Indian was monarch here, and he saw no limits to his kingdom. Behold the change! And where now are the Indian and his canoe? They are gone! The one retired long ere your temples or your palaces were erected, or remained and perished under the influence of those vices which accompany the march of civilization; the other waited not until your Hudson was put in a foam by your ships, but fell to pieces under the first undulations of your opening commerce. True, a few of the natives yet linger on your western limits, but they serve to attest the truth of what we are aiming to establish, viz: *the perishing consequences to the Indian, of a near connexion with a white population*. What are the remains of those once powerful tribes, but broken columns, mutilated fragments, of their once powerful confederacy? Look at them! Who sees any likeness in what is left to the Six Nations? Every vestige is gone! The race of the Skenandoah's is extinct! What *was* it, we ask, that destroyed the Indians of this island, and sent such a mildew, to perish those who yet hang upon your borders? The same causes, we answer, that have reduced the

once countless bands that inhabited Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, to a few over six thousand souls!

In Massachusetts, the great theatre of benevolence, where the missionary labours have been, both in early and later times, so unceasing; and where the spirit of kindness has never slumbered, and where the Indians, themselves, built churches and worshipped in them; and where the work of their complete reformation appeared so nearly accomplished; and where there was as much to cheer the heart of the philanthropist, as now exists in the most improved of the present day, there remain only about seven hundred and fifty souls!—Penn was never suspected of cherishing unkind purposes towards the Indians, nor were his descendants; yet where are the natives of that district of country now comprehended in the state of Pennsylvania? And where are the bands of Jersey, and Delaware, and Maryland? All gone. And where the once powerful and numerous bands of Virginia? Where the descendents of Powhatan? Within the limits of that vast territory, there remain but *forty-seven* Indians! The plough, it is true, often turns up the stone axes, and arrow points, once used by the natives, and in quantities to attest how numerous those were who once used them. These are all that remain now, to remind the traveller in Virginia, that the ground over which he rides, was once alive with an Indian population. But leave the Atlantic States, and go into the west—go to Ohio—linger among the tumuli of that great country, in which are the bones of so many thousands of the natives, and catch the echoes of the war-whoop, which resound through all the vallies; for it was but yesterday when it was sounded; and but yesterday, when the Indian exerted his power in triumph over all that country. Look for the savage bands. Go to the banks of that river that gives name to the State, and ask, where are the canoes that used to float down its tide, so filled with the painted natives. One, now and then, perhaps, may steal in silence along; and, here and there, upon the lands of their fathers, and clinging to the soil that covers their bones, you will find a few remaining;—but of all who once occupied that State, there remain, at present, but a few over two thousand. Here, then, is our experience; and, from it, we deduce the inference, that, whilst the Indians retain their present degraded relations to us, inhabiting a State, but excluded from all

that is honourable in it ; and even from the hope of any elevation of character and privileges in the future, he must deteriorate. and go to decay ; for, there lives not a man, who is insensible to contempt and disgrace : and the more men become enlightened, to see the disparaging nature of the relations they bear to those around them, the more perishing are those relations felt to be. It is important to provide different relations, if only for the 1300 Indian youths, who are at this moment enjoying the benefits of education ; for to expect the Indians, circumstanced as they are, to advance and flourish as men and Christians, is to expect more of them than we should feel authorized to hope for, even of ourselves.

Under the operation of moral causes, does man rise or fall, in the scale of being ? The whole mass of these, is against the Indian. Shut out from all participation in those ennobling connexions and pursuits, which give ardour to hope. and “fix the generous purpose in the glowing breast,”—why should we be surprised to find the Indian just such a being as he is ? Or doubt the fatal tendencies and termination of such a state of things ? We confess, we tremble for the consequences, and feel, that if we are right, those who may have counselled the Indians to remain where they are, and in opposition to the kind designs of the government towards them, have assumed a tremendous responsibility !

We esteem it to be our duty on this occasion to correct an error which has obtained in regard to this business of emigration. It seems to be thought by some, that the Indians are opposed to removal ; and that force is meditated to be employed to compel them to go. In regard to the disposition of *the great body* of the Indians within our States, we speak advisedly when we say, they are *anxious to remove*. The present excitement is occasioned in great part, by the opposition of those persons, whose interest it is to keep the Indians where they are. Protection has actually been sought of the government by those who wish to better their destiny, against the threats of others, in which an *enrolment* for emigration has been forbidden on pain of death ! This may be received as the real state of the case, obtained in good part by us, on personal opportunities, and from official information confirming our observation and experience. In regard to the employment of force to drive the Indians from the country they inhabit, so far from this being correct, they have been told by the Execu-

tive, in one of the documents read to you to-night, that if they choose to remain, they shall be protected in all their rights ; but they are advised to remove, for reasons relating wholly to themselves. Is there any thing in this that looks like hostility to this people ? There is nothing of cruelty cherished either by our government or people towards the Indians. The only point in controversy at present, is that which divides those who differ on the question of emigration. And surely this difference may be permitted without involving those of us who think the salvation of the Indians depends on a change of their relations to us, (and which cannot be realized, as we firmly believe, but on the basis of a removal,) in the charge of meditating evil, or cherishing a spirit of vindictiveness against these hapless people !

But it may be expected of us to state the terms on which we propose this removal.

It is proposed, in the first place, to give them a country, and to secure it to them by the most ample and solemn sanctions, suitable in all respects, in exchange for theirs ; to pay them for all their improvements,—and see them, free of cost, to their new homes,—to aid them after their arrival there,—and protect them. To put over them, at once, the frame-work of a government, and to fill this up as their advancement in civilization may require it ; to secure them the privilege of participating in it ; to establish schools over their country, for the enlightening of the rising generation ; and give them the Gospel. In fine, it is proposed to place them in a Territorial relation to us, and in all respects ; and in the enjoyment of all the privileges consequent upon such a relation, civil, political and religious. Thus will they attain an elevation, to which in their present relations, they can never aspire. And thus would new influences be created, ennobling in their tendencies, and animating in their effects. Under these, the Indian would rise into the distinction to which he has always been a stranger ; and live and act with reference to the corresponding honours and benefits of such a state.

We have in the United States, about 300,000 Indians, about 70,000 of whom, it is proposed to advance at once, into this state of exalted privileges. The country on which it is proposed to settle these,* is immediately beyond, and west of Missouri and Arkansas.

* Reference is here intended to be made to the four Southern tribes, and the Florida Indians. Green Bay is looked to as the future and permanent home of the New York, and other Northern Indians.

It is believed to be unexceptionable in extent, and soil, and salubrity. Our information is derived from actual surveys which have been made of it.

Were the Indians present, we would address them thus :—

Brothers,—We doubt not your sincere attachment to the country in which you live. Some of ye believe you have a sovereign right over all within the limits designated for your occupancy. And suppose there was no dispute on this point, would you linger and die on it merely for that reason? Do you not see the degrading nature of the relation in which you stand to the whites? Do you not feel how perishing it is to you? Are you not aliens—and even worse, though living in the heart of the country? Has not this anomalous relation destroyed hundreds of thousands of your race; and unpeopled whole states of those of whom you are descended? Do you expect that you can escape a similar destruction—unless you fly from the causes which have heretofore proved so fatal? Do you not look in utter hopelessness on the destiny of your children?

Brothers,—Whether is it wise in you thus to linger out a chafed, and impoverished, and disheartening existence, and die as your fathers have died, and leave the same destiny to your children; or to leave your country, and the bones of your fathers, (which cannot benefit you, stay where they are as long as you may,) and go to one where none of those perishing influences will be permitted to exist; and where upon you and your posterity shall be entailed all that is valuable in government; all that is exalted in privileges; and all that is refined in happiness?

Brothers,—Be not deluded,—nor think us your enemy because we seek to advance your happiness. Listen to our voice. We have long felt for your sad condition, and mourned over it. Listen to us, and be advised. Yield up your prejudices. Try us this once. Do not distrust our object,—it is your welfare only, we seek.

But they are not present, and our voice is not heard; or if it were, the counsel it conveys, especially in the moment of excitement that prevails now, might be lost. But it is pleasant to know that we have done our duty. This consciousness, gentlemen, must, on an occasion like the present, be extremely grateful to you. We have witnessed your solicitude to save these hapless people; we have seen, and do highly appreciate your labours. We know your motive, and

pronounce it pure. Like men zealous for the attainment of a great object, you have risen above the influences of political and sectarian feelings, and appreciating the importance of the work to be accomplished ; and seeing it involves human happiness, and human life, you have given the invitation to all to unite with you in saving these people. You see, and truly, that the experiments of the past will not do to be further relied on, and you have adopted the only remaining alternative. You have thought well of this matter, and examined it with your accustomed energies of thought and action. Your conclusion is, that unless the Indians can be prevailed on to remove, and place themselves under the redeeming influences which you are ready, in their behalf, to see faithfully applied, *they must perish*. This conclusion has brought you together in the ardour of friendship, and with the hope of Christians ; and you have associated, and now stand pledged to the world, and to heaven, to exert your best energies for the " emigration, preservation, and improvement of the Indians." We wish you, in a work so noble, and over which mercy will delight to preside, and on which you may with so much confidence implore the blessings of heaven, the most abundant success.

To Colonel M'Kenney.

New York, August, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

Permit me, through you, to communicate to the distinguished individuals therein named, the following resolution of the Indian Board, &c., passed at their last meeting, viz :

" *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Board be transmitted to the President of the United States, and the Secretary of War, for their prompt compliance with the wishes of this Association, as conveyed in a letter addressed to the department, by the Rev. Eli Baldwin, soliciting the aid of Colonel M'Kenney, in the business which has engaged its attentions."

Allow me further to address to you personally, the following resolution passed at the same time.

" *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Board be presented to Colonel M'Kenney, for his very eloquent address, delivered on the evening of

the 12th instant ; and that a copy of the same be requested for publication."

And to assure you of my hearty concurrence in the expression of gratitude, and in the request,

I am, dear Sir,

Very respectfully Yours,

ELI BALDWIN,

Corresponding Secretary.

To the Rev. Eli Baldwin, Corresponding Secretary, &c.

New York, August 17, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of this date, embodying two resolutions of your Board. I will take great pleasure in conveying the first to the President and Secretary of War, who will, I am sure, duly appreciate the expression of the thanks of the Board in the matter referred to.

I am gratified that the Address delivered by me, in pursuance of a resolution of your Board, is acceptable to you ; and highly appreciate the thanks of the Board, as conveyed in the second resolution of the same. The request for a copy for publication, is complied with.

With my best wishes for the success of your Board in the noble object which engages its attentions, and for your individual prosperity and happiness,

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, most truly,

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY.

To the President of the United States.

New York, August 14, 1829.

SIR,

The condition of the Indian tribes, and their present relations to the General and State Governments, have occasioned among the friends of these interesting people, feelings of deep anxiety ; and

awakened a disposition among various citizens of the Union, to harmonize, if possible, the present discordant relations, and in a way that shall secure to the Indians peace and prosperity for the future. Participating in this common feeling, an Association of citizens of various denominations has been formed with the view of contributing to ends so important.

The principles on which this Association proposes to act and be governed, are disclosed in the accompanying documents, which embrace the preliminary proceedings, the origin of the Association, and the Constitution of the Board.

By a resolution therein, you will perceive that it is made my duty to communicate for the information, and with a view to obtain the approbation and co-operation of the Exécutive, a copy of those proceedings to you.

The Board looks with confidence to the Executive of the United States for such patronage as it may have the power to bestow ; and with deep anxiety to the Congress, to whom it doubts not the Executive will submit the subject for those ways and means upon which reliance is placed for the promotion of its benevolent intentions.

I am, most respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

ELI BALDWIN,

Corresponding Secretary of the Indian Board, &c.

To the Rev. Eli Baldwin.

Rip Raps, Virginia, August 25, 1829.

SIR,

Last evening, by the steam boat Norfolk, from Baltimore, your letter to the President was received at this place, with a transcript of the Constitution, relating to the Indians, recently adopted at New York by your Convention. With the course pursued at your meeting, the President is much gratified, and desires me so to declare to you. He cannot but appreciate highly the views taken by you of a course of policy, which justice to principles recognised, and humanity towards our Indian brethren, constrained him as matter of conceived duty to adopt. He regrets that so many inaccuracies, both as to object and motive, should have found a place in the public journals

of the day, evidently misrepresenting, and calculated to produce incorrect impressions. The great consolation entertained by him though, is, that time will prove that his only end, and object and purpose, is to do full and impartial justice, to the extent that his official discharge of duty will sanction.

I beg leave to assure you, that nothing of a compulsory course, to effect the removal of this unfortunate race of people, has ever been thought of by the President, although it has been so asserted. The considerations which controlled, in the course pursued, were such, as he really and in fact believed, were required, as well by a regard for the just rights which the State of Georgia was authorized to assert, as from a conscientious conviction, that by it, humanity towards the Indians would more effectually be subserved. Of this they have been assured, and in that assurance, no other disposition was had than to explain fully to them, and the country, the actual ground on which it was believed they were rightfully entitled to stand.

How can the United States Government contest with Georgia the authority to regulate her own internal affairs? If the doctrine every where maintained be true, that a State is sovereign, so far as by the constitution adopted it has not been parted with to the General Government, then must it follow as matter of certainty, that within the limits of a State there can be none other, than her own sovereign power, that can claim to exercise the functions of government. It is certainly contrary to every idea entertained of an independent government, for any other to assert adverse dominion and authority, within her jurisdictional limits : they are things that cannot exist together.

Between the State of Georgia and the Indian tribes within her limits, no compact or agreement was ever entered into ;—who then is to yield, for it is certain in the ordinary course of exercised authority, that one or the other must? The answer heretofore presented from the Government, and which you, by your adoption, have sanctioned as correct, is the only one that can be offered. Georgia, by her acknowledged confederative authority, may legally and rightfully govern and control throughout her own limits, or else our knowledge of the science and principle of government, as they relate to our own forms, are wrong, and have been wholly misunderstood.

Sympathy indulged is a noble and generous trait of character ; but it should never assume a form calculated to outrage settled principles, or to produce in the end a greater evil than it would remedy. Admit it were in the disposition of the Government at Washington to hold a course and language different from that they have heretofore employed ; and to encourage the Indians to the belief that rightfully they may remain and exercise civil government in despite of Georgia ? do those who are the advocates of such a course, and consider it reconcilable to propriety, dream of the consequences to which it would lead, or consider after what manner so strange an idea could be put in practice ? Have they looked to the State of Georgia, conscious in the rectitude of her own construction of right, demanding of the United States their constitutional authority to interfere, and appealing to the States to sustain her against encroachments, which, if submitted to, might, in the end, prove destructive of the whole ? If nothing else can be traced through such an appeal and in such an issue, I think the good and the humane may at least perceive that in it peril is to be discerned, and that the weak and undisciplined Indians, in such a contest, would be so utterly destroyed, that the places which now know them, would presently know them no more.

From the conversations had with the President, recently and formerly, on the subject of the Indians, I am satisfied. that no man in the country entertains towards them better feelings, or has a stronger desire to see them placed in that condition, which may conduce to their advancement and happiness. But to encourage them to the idea, that within the confines of a State, they may exercise all the forms and requisites of a government, fashioned to their own condition and necessities, he does not consider can be advantageous to them, or that the exercise of such a right can properly be conceded. What would the authorities of the State of New York say to an attempt, on the part of the *Six Nations*, to establish, within her limits, a separate and independent government ; and yet their authority, to do so, would be as undeniable as that of the Creeks, or Cherokees, within the territory of Georgia, or Alabama ? Would they agree, that the Indian law of retaliation on the next of kin, should be enforced for the accidental killing of one of their tribe ? Or, that nothing of trade and commerce, by her citizens, should take place within their limits, except in conformity to the provisions of their

municipal code? Would they assent to have their citizens rendered liable to be arraigned at the bar of an Indian court of justice, and to have meted out to them the penalties of their criminal code? It is obvious, that no State of this Union would grant such authority. Concede, however, that these Indians are entitled to be considered sovereign within their own limits, and you concede every thing else as matter of consequence. Admit the principle, and all is admitted—and what then? The sword, the alone arbiter in any community, where questions of adverse sovereignty and power are to be settled, would, in the end, have to be appealed to: and, when this shall be the case, the humblest prophet in our land cannot but discern what will be the *finale* of the contest. Is it not preferable, and does not their own peace, and quiet, and happiness, demand, that they should surrender, at once, such visionary opinions, and, by retiring beyond the Mississippi, place themselves where every conflict, as to State authority, will cease; and where the most enlarged and generous efforts, by the Government, will be made to improve their minds, better their condition, and aid them in their efforts of self-government? For your efforts, and those associated with you in convention, furthering this liberal and only practical scheme, the time will come when all good and generous men will thank you.

In conclusion, the President desires me to thank you for the communication made to him, and to offer you an assurance, that every legitimate power of his, will be freely bestowed to further and assist the laudable and humane course which your convention has adopted.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN H. EATON.







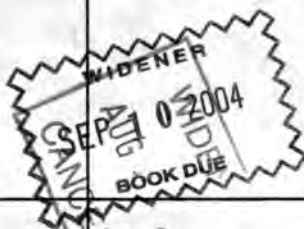


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